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Aspects of urban education were social factors, personality, learning, and public school programs. Studies show that middle class educational techniques are inadequate in reaching the lower class child. Lower class families foster feelings of confusion and anxiety in their children because of strong maternal domination in the home and little concern for emotional needs. The peer group often replaces the family as the lower class child's primary group. These children develop their own language pattern, which makes teacher-pupil communication difficult. Teachers should be trained, in pre-service and in-service educational programs, to understand the cultural patterns of the group.

Personality development in culturally deprived children is based on a series of self-concepts which enable a child to understand his own abilities.

Lower class children can be motivated by relating material to their needs. Enrichment and remedial programs focus on language development as the key to academic retardation.

Public school experimental programs located in urban areas train teachers in techniques which allow the children to express themselves. Teachers "learn by doing" in team teaching and with the use of new teaching materials. Curriculum improvements have been especially focused on language arts. Guidance has sought a more signficant role in each child's life. Major efforts have been made to involve parents and the community in the educational process.

An extensive bibliography is appended.

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FOREWORD.

Nowadays one hears much about the "culturally disadvantaged pupil," the "crisis" in the central-city schools, etc. Almost overnight the long-standing problems of urban education have become a fashionable item of conversation, a topic for journalistic treatment in the mass media, and also a topic that has attracted the attention of an increasing army of researchers. Some Protestant churchmen have been enthusiastic participants in this "discovery."

But if our response is to be more than a momentary enthusiasm (to be quickly displaced by the next crisis), then we will have to do our homework--to be ready to engage in systematic, sustained study. If that is your intent, the following essay could be of considerable assistance. Here is an excellent introduction to a bewildering array of information. I stress the word, "introduction," because it so accurately expresses Mrs. Clifford's aim. She does not offer any short-cuts to wisdom or even literacy about urban education. What she does provide, however, is a point of departure for the reader who is willing to follow through with further study.

If you care to pursue any of these leads, then Mrs. Clifford stands ready to assist you. Much of the material that is described in the following pages is now available either in the urban education collection of the Auburn-Union Lending Library, 3041 Broadway, or else in the library of the Institute of Urban Studies, Teachers College, Columbia University. We invite you to come to the Seminary and use our collection and also--through Mrs. Clifford--to become acquainted with the resources of the Institute of Urban Studies. If it is not possible for you to visit the Seminary, then we will assist you in any plausible and appropriate way by correspondence. The purpose of the Auburn Program in offering these resources is twofold: first, along with others, we want to aid Protestants in becoming more responsible participants in the struggle for quality education for all people in the great metropolises of our country. Secondly, we believe that the resources represented in the urban education collection can assist pastors, directors of Christian education, and denominational executives as they seek to make church education more effective and faithful to the work and mission of the church.

If you have any further questions, do not hesitate to write Mrs. Virginia Clifford, The Auburn-Union Lending Library, 3041 Broadway, New York, New York 10027.

Robert W. Lynn
Dean of Auburn

September, 1964

PREFACE

The words most commonly heard in urban education today are probably also the most confusing. Certainly there is little precision in the use of "deprived" or "disadvantaged" and their many variations ("racially," "culturally," "socially," or "economically disadvantaged"). Not merely negative, they are also ambiguous and inexact, for the disadvantage may be economic, cultural, social or racial, or all of these at once. The child of the city's depressed area, moreover, who may be socially and economically deprived and racially different, is surely "educationally disadvantaged" when the school expects from him what he is unprepared to give and at the same time underestimates his abilities. Thus a part of the responsibility for the disadvantage rests upon the school itself.

The social or economic class groupings often used to identify the disadvantaged tend to create stereotypes. One cannot fail to notice the overlapping between classes and variations within them. Hence the imprecise and inclusive term "lower-status" is preferable to a more rigid classification. It reflects, incidentally, the value judgment of our society upon certain social, racial and economic groups.

Cultural deprivation, of course, does not mean that the lower class or ethnic minority has no culture of its own. But cultural and class difference can mean deprivation of aspects of dominant white middle-class "successful American" culture which are often demanded by the schools. The children of these groups are often alienated from the mainstream of our society by poverty and the limitation of social relationships. When they are described as "alienated" or "disaffected," however, it is their subjective state, or the effects of these limitations on personality, which is meant.

Nevertheless, despite all the differences among individual children and their particular groups or cultures, the disadvantaged or deprived remain a describable group with common educational problems, and the terms may therefore be used with understanding.

Since it is becoming increasingly clear that urban churches face similar problems in the education of these same children, the special attention being given to them by the public schools and the innovations in educational practice adapted to their needs and abilities are pertinent to the work of the church educator. If teaching aids and techniques can incorporate what is known about the learning "styles" of the disadvantaged child and his cultural values (both of which may differ markedly from those of middle-class children) and if new ways of organizing programs and materials can be sought in the context of the special needs of each parish, it is quite possible that Christian education may evolve some more appropriate forms of Christian nurture, Biblically oriented and realistically related to the actual lives of the children.

In preparing this essay and its accompanying bibliography, I have examined recent articles and books on the disadvantaged child and his educational problems. The interest in the subject today is widespread and intense. More than sixty different journals are represented in my files. The writings seem to be increasing in geometric progression. Of those references which I have collected, only a few were published before 1955 and more than three-fourths since 1960. Research is being conducted today by many colleges, universities and Institutes with the help of government funds and foundation grants. I have been guided by published bibliographies and by persons working in urban problems who have directed me to others with specific interests in education, delinquency prevention, the psychology of racial and cultural groups, and to research projects as yet unpublished. The public school system of Wilmington, Delaware, financed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, has made available detailed reports of a three-year experimental project. The Ford Foundation is financing demonstration programs in numerous cities and adding more each year. These and other public school programs have put into practice many of the research findings mentioned above. Sometimes research is combined with school experimentation, where, under carefully controlled conditions, hypotheses may be tested in the actual teaching of depressed area children. Such a project is that of the Institute for Developmental Studies in New York City.

The bibliography may be found at the end of an introductory essay. In the early sections are reports of surveys, theoretical and empirical studies, and analyses of class, status, cultural, personality and developmental factors which pertain, directly or indirectly, to the education of lower-status and minority group children in our cities. While much of the work is appropriate to children of various other locations, including suburbs and satellite cities, and even rural depressed areas, I have not attempted to include specific studies of all these groups but have limited the references largely to those which deal with urban children.

Most of the bibliographical references treating minority group characteristics concern Negro children. A few references concerning the

Puerto Ricans are included (I plan to add more on this subculture later), and at present none have to do with other national or ethnic groups except as they share the characteristics and problems of the two mentioned or of lower-class society in general.

My selection is determined by my inability to cover what is apparently a limitless amount of material as much as it is determined by any chosen criteria. Thus the bibliography is necessarily incomplete. However, I believe most of the important topics are represented fully enough to give an idea of what has been done and the directions which are being taken by research workers at this time.

The second part of my work has been to gather copies of reports on experimental and demonstration programs in the public schools for consultation by students and educators in the church. These are listed in a separate section in the bibliography. Again, this collection is up to date only insofar as I have been able to locate and obtain reports.

The bibliography is arranged alphabetically within subdivisions which parallel the chapters of the text. (It will be noted that each subdivision contains more references than are mentioned in the text.) In the case of public school programs (Chapter 5), the reports are listed according to cities, while other items will be found under headings corresponding to the topics treated in the chapter.

The essay which follows is designed to introduce the reader to these resources. While it is not a comprehensive survey of the literature, it attempts to locate information which may be helpful in planning church programs and to indicate the trends which are emerging in several important fields of experimentation and demonstration. Educators and students may avail themselves of a larger bibliography and an expanding collection of materials in the Auburn Library Urban Education collection.

I have been most grateful for the suggestions and encouragement of David Elliott, Research Associate at the Institute of Urban Studies, Teachers College, Columbia University, at all stages in the preparation of this paper and the collection itself. And I would like to express my gratitude also to Anne Walline, who has typed innumerable letters of request as well as this manuscript.

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Chapter I

BACKGROUND MATERIALS

Any study of the educational problems of lower-status and minority group children must begin with an appreciation of their family patterns, cultural traditions and other conditions such as physical environment, mobility and economic opportunities.

Since the current emphasis on civil rights concentrates largely on the problems of the Negro and to some extent the Puerto Rican, there is no dearth of easily accessible information on the living conditions of these groups. The attention being given today to the general problem of poverty in the nation has resulted in much popular writing on all economically disadvantaged groups. The most inclusive analysis to date is Michael Harrington's The Other America (1963). Specifically concerned with the Negro and Puerto Rican families which have entered New York City is Oscar Handlin's The Newcomers (1959), a study of the adjustment of these in-migrant groups written from the perspective of past experience of the city with immigrants, with a prediction of future changes in population patterns. The responses of the city to this influx of minority groups is illuminated in parts of Alfred R. Marrow's Changing Patterns of Prejudice (1962) and in numerous other writings on race relations and integration problems. The most recent account of the condition of all New York City minority groups is Nathan Glazer's Beyond the Melting Pot (1964).

The plight of Puerto Ricans newly arrived in New York, with helpful descriptions of their cultural patterns, special attributes and problems of adjustment, may be found in several places, among them Elena Padilla's Up From Puerto Rico (1958), Clarence Senior's Strangers and Neighbors (1952) and the larger Columbia University survey, The Puerto Rican Journey (1950). Having a pride in their culture and no tradition of racial discrimination, this group faces an adjustment more like that of the 19th-century immigrant from Europe than that of the American Negro, although both are American citizens. Yet an understanding of their specific needs and culture is important. Beatrice Berle's 80 Puerto Rican Families (1958) is an analysis of this group from the point of view of health and disease, and Patterns of Living in Puerto Rican Families (1949) is still relevant, for such patterns do not change rapidly and can become sources of conflict within families.

Background studies are equally important to understanding the Negro child. Franklin Frazier's The Negro in the United States is the classic history of this group. First published in 1939, it includes a thorough study of the family which helps to explain the social environment of children of low income families today. An abbreviated treatment by Frazier can be found in The Family, a collection of essays edited by Ruth Anshen in 1949. A more contemporary summary of the actual conditions of the Negro in urban society is "The Changing Negro Family" by Hylan Lewis, in *The Nation's Children* (1960), containing some suggestions of new needs and problems which will arise within the family as integration and better living and working conditions are gradually achieved. A similar account, with more recent statistics on the Negro family, is "Marriage and Family Life Among Negroes" by G. F. Edwards in the *Yearbook of the Journal of Negro Education* (Fall, 1963). The Summer, 1963, issue of *Freedomways* is devoted to the Negro in Harlem.

The work of sociologists and anthropologists calls attention to the multiple factors involved in the education of the deprived, and offsets the emphasis on the handicaps these children suffer, providing positive approaches. Excellent introductions have been published recently: Hodgkinson's *Education in Social and Cultural Perspectives* (1962), stressing a multidimensional approach, Robert R. Bell's *Sociology of Education* (1962), and George D. Spindler's *Education and Culture* (1963), the last two being collections of essays in sociology and anthropology.

There are a number of books portraying the behavior patterns of lower-status groups in their social and cultural context. Of these, perhaps William F. Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1943) is the most informative. The more recent *The Urban Villagers*, by Herbert J. Gans (1962), like Whyte's book, is a study of an Italian community in Boston. A sympathetic treatment of the personal, individual problems of slum youth is Kilmer Myers' *Light the Dark Streets* (1957), and *The Cool World*, by Warren Miller (1959), is a fictional account of "gang" life in Harlem.

Frank Riessman, whose *The Culturally Deprived Child* (1963) has attracted considerable attention, emphasizes the positive attributes of these children and their latent possibilities for learning. Himself a student of working-class culture, Riessman here summarizes some research studies and gathers together pertinent suggestions for the educator. In an introductory essay to the United States Office of Education publication, *Programs for the Educationally Disadvantaged* (1963), he attempts to work out a theoretical framework for new approaches in education.

A theory of public education appropriate to a changing world is advanced by Solon Kimball and James McClellan in *Education and the New America* (1962). An effective reporter on the schools themselves, Martin Mayer, provides in *The Schools* (1961) a critical survey of educational procedures in many different situations and in Chapter 6 some discussion of the education of disadvantaged American children. Other critics of the education of American young people are Paul Goodman, whose *Growing Up Absurd* (1960), and Edgar Z. Friedenberg, whose *The Vanishing Adolescent* ((1959) are stimulating and suggestive.

One of the most valuable introductions to the educational problems of urban societies is *Education in Depressed Areas* (1963), a collection of fifteen papers presented at a conference at Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1962. A survey of problems and research, this collection represents a common view of the responsibility of the schools to educate disadvantaged children but little agreement as to solutions of the problems involved. It does, however, provide an excellent survey of the problems themselves and a variety of suggestions for dealing with them. Another collection, Education in Urban Society (1962) may be mentioned for an interesting summary of school experimentation in Chicago and a chapter on curriculum formation in urban schools. The work of James Conant, especially his Slums and Suburbs (1961), deals with the present educational situation in the United States. Although some of his solutions to the problems of slum children may be criticized, this book is an important and informative analysis of a major urban problem. Patricia Sexton's Education and Income (1961), a study of public schools in a large city, reveals inadequacies in the education of low income children. Robert Havighurst's Growing Up in River City (1962) studies the school, church and other aids to adolescent development. Both of these books offer suggestions as to more effective educational and guidance programs.

Most of the works listed above give a general picture of the character of lower-status groups essential to an appreciation of the scope of the educational challenge. A few describe some of the problems involved in their education, but only occasionally do they touch on experimental programs now in effect. It is necessary now to turn to specific research studies which isolate the needs and attributes of these children, and then to examine experimental programs which have adapted educational procedures to their special problems.

Chapter II

SOCIAL FACTORS

The striking thing about the educational problems of the disadvantaged child is their multiple character. Poor progress in school may be the result of inadequate teaching or facilities. Patricia Sexton's study, Education and Income (1960) demonstrates that in a large middle-western city low-income children are not adequately served by the public school system; James Conant's Slums and Suburbs (1961) reveals dramatic contrasts between schools in these two areas; and Martin Deutsch reports in "Minority Groups and Class Status" (1960) that in slum schools he studied more time was spent in disciplining and paper work than in teaching. Poor school performance is likely, however, to be associated with a variety of background conditions among children whose experiential and language background is limited in relation to standard expectations of schools. Any diagnosis of their learning problems must therefore consider a number of interrelated factors. This chapter will be concerned with the social background of the disadvantaged child and with studies selected from three major areas of research: socio-economic status, cultural patterns, and language.*

A brief sketch of the life of children of a depressed urban area may demonstrate to the "outsider" why the educator faces a challenging problem. Suzanne Keller (1963) reports in some detail the living patterns of a sample of first and fifth grade children from a New York City slum. Poverty, geographical mobility, underemployment and social marginality characterize these families whose chances for social mobility are low because of limited education. The out-of-school lives of the children are a monotonous round of television, play with friends, and movies, with no privacy, limited relations with adults, and a dearth of intellectually stimulating experiences. The gap between such lives and the ordered, academic atmosphere and intellectual demands of the school is obvious. These children, moreover, lead constricted lives, having made few, if any, trips outside of their neighborhoods.

A thorough introduction to the social factors involved in the unreadiness of such children for academic learning is to be found in the essays in A. Harry Passow's collection, Education in Depressed Areas.

Socio-economic Status and Learning

Since most children from low-income families have consistently been found to be deficient in school performance when compared with middle-class children, much work has been done in relating socio-economic status to learning. In a lecture based on researches done in the 1930's Allison Davis (1961) claimed that the needs of lower-class children cannot be met by middle-class schools. The question of cultural conflict between home and school was pointed out by W. H. Burton more than ten years ago in the Harvard Educational Review (1953), and it is important today in discussions of the education of disadvantaged children. Davis, whose lecture was widely read, provided an impulse to reconsider some of the basic premises of American education. His observations on the cultural bias of intelligence tests dealt a blow to the acceptance of the I.Q. as a fixed and infallible index of intelligence. Of equal influence was the study of Chicago families by Davis and Robert Havighurst (1946) in which social class rather than race was shown to be the major factor in child-rearing practices. The authors urged the understanding of socioeconomic class characteristics because of the importance of primary groups in the training of children. The study found striking contrasts between lower- and middle-class patterns of infant training and child rearing. Subsequent investigations, however, did not corroborate all of their results, and Uri Bronfenbrenner (1958) in an article entitled "Social Class Through Time and Space" compared the results of numerous studies and accounted for discrepancies among them by changing patterns since World War II. He observed a narrowing of the cultural gap, noting certain trends independent of class level such as cultural background, rural or urban upbringing, and exposure to ideologies of child rearing. W. W. Charters (1963) also notes in a discussion of research on social class that social class factors are less distinct than Davis claims.

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* From this point on, the practice of identifying books and articles by the author's name and date of publication will be followed. Complete references may be found in the bibliography under headings corresponding to chapters and sub-headings.

The question of whether members of all classes share the goals and values of the dominant society (making it inaccurate to speak of lower- or middle-class values) or whether society is actually based on class-differentiated value systems, is important to the study of education today. If there is no gap between cultural or class systems, the underlying assumptions of the educational system, while middle-class, need not be questioned. Is there really a "culture conflict?" The difficulty seems to come in attempting to characterize any class or ethnic group absolutely.

The idea of a common value system in American society has been held by Robert Merton (1949) in a well-known essay, "Social Structure and Anomie." On the other hand, Herbert Hyman (1953), Walter B. Miller (1959), and Herbert J. Gans (1962) speak of "lower-class value systems" and "focal concerns," seeing values as products of cultural systems and lower-class subculture as a response to deprivation. Following Miller, William Kvaraceus (1960) in Volume I of his Juvenile Delinquency treats delinquency as adaptive behavior, the pursuit of goals peculiar to the lower class. Merton sees it rather as a result of unequal chances of attainment of goals desired by all.

Attempts have been made to resolve this disagreement. John P. Clark and Eugene P. Wenninger (1963) report the results of a test of the Kvaraceus-Miller theory. Finding that major orientations are rather similar in nature throughout society, this study uncovers significant differences among the lower class and attributes them to the concentration by classes in large cities. This study endorses Miller, but at the same time sets limits to "lower class culture." In the same journal Hyman Rodman (1963) offers a theory of the "Lower Class Value Stretch." The general and highly abstract values of society are common to all, but the lower class has a wide range of values and a lower degree of commitment to them. They develop alternative values to help them adjust to their deprived circumstances. The conclusion reached is that both theories are correct, but that wide variations occur in the lower class.

The "deprived" groups, whose children pose educational problems, while differing in ethnic background, belong to the lower socio-economic levels of society, largely concentrated in slum areas. They may be recently arrived rural Negroes or whites or Spanish-speaking groups, mobile, rootless and disoriented to the city. Or they may be longer residents of slums or housing projects. The gradual process of urban adjustment may reinforce or may change traditional patterns. But while the younger generations in particular take on elements of the larger culture readily, at the same time they develop ways of coping with what seems to be a hostile environment. As long as social and economic segregation persist, there tends to be an alienation from dominant middle-class society and a resistance to certain of its values and behavior patterns. Thus Miller's "focal concerns" have validity and "lower class values" are not a fiction.

In order not to define social classes too rigidly, the more flexible term "value orientation" may be preferred in a society where many people are at different levels of assimilation. A complicated but interesting and useful analysis by Florence Kluckhohn is to be found in "Learning the Culture--Boundaries of Personality Development," a lecture published by the Bank Street College of Education in 1957. Her analysis includes five classifications of values, built around orientations to basic problems common to all human groups: the character of innate human nature, the relation of man to nature, the time orientation of life, the activity orientation of life, and man's relation to other men. There are three different modes of response to each of these problems and many different combinations are possible, even within class and ethnic groups. This article discusses these various orientations in American families of different backgrounds and relates them to the school experience of the children. Such an anthropological approach permits the distinguishing of values without the use of ethnic labels and provides a way of understanding cultural conflict.

While a correlation continues to be found between low socio-economic status and poor school performance--Robert Havighurst's Growing Up in River City (1962) provides recent evidence--it has become increasingly clear that it is not a simple relationship. Nor is social class alone a very useful focus for the purpose of improving education. A review of studies in social class by Brookover and Gottlieb (1963) insists that class level cannot be treated as a single variable; instead, separate factors need to be isolated and studied in relation to learning. Thus it will be noticed that, in recent work, attempts are made to bring out the influence of psychological factors--motivation and self-perception--of adult and peer expectations, and variations in the social climates of schools.

The complexities of the problem have thus sent research workers and analysts in many different directions in pursuit of an adequate understanding of the educational problems of disadvantaged children. Moreover, the recognition of the importance of early childhood experience in learning processes has added another dimension to research: the relation of social deprivation to cognitive ability.

From an examination of these studies several implications may be drawn which apply to church programs as well as public schools. The social deprivation common to children of disadvantaged backgrounds indicates that many of the procedures for both instruction and social relations in the classroom which are normally effective with middle-class children cannot be expected to be effective with them. At the same time, the many differences among them imply a need on the part of educators to understand cultural patterns and to develop a variety of methods to suit different kinds of children. For a complex urban population, therefore, it would seem that the actual planning of curriculum should take place on a local level.

Cultural Patterns: Family Structure

Ethnic backgrounds account for persisting patterns of behavior, especially when reinforced by economic and social influences. An example is the matriarchal family pattern found especially among Negroes in low-income groups. Circumstances of economic and racial segregation and the absence of opportunity for better jobs perpetuate the female-centered home. The low status of the father, caused by unemployment or low level jobs, or in many cases the absence of a father altogether, leaves the care of children to a female head of the household--sometimes the mother, or if she is working, perhaps a grandmother, aunt, or foster mother. The Negro family, with a history of mother-dominated households, continues to be matriarchal except when middle-class status brings about a change in the pattern. A description of the female-based home by W. B. Miller may be found in the NEA publication, Delinquent Behavior, Vol. I (Kvaraceus, 1959) (in its entirety a valuable analysis of the social milieu and value orientation of disadvantaged youth). Such patterns may become characteristic of low-income groups and not merely reflections of ethnic mores.

Numerous analysts have pointed out the psychological effects of the matriarchal family structure upon the children: feelings of inadequacy among boys in the absence of a male model, the failure to resolve the Oedipal situation and the confusion of roles in both boys and girls, sometimes ensuing in emotional disorder and sexual aberration. Where desertion is prevalent, children may be taught that men are "no good," and the fatherless family becomes a recurring pattern. The fact that Negro girls have fewer personality problems and do better in school than their brothers has been attributed to their having a more adequate model in their mothers. Boys become closely identified with their mothers and must seek their identity as males outside the home. David and Pearl Ausubel (1963) make use of a large number of studies in this area in the essay, "Ego Development Among Segregated Negro Children," in Passow's volume. Israel Woronoff (1962) describes in more detail the identification problem of the Negro boy, while B. K. Alcorn (1962) describes the psychological plight of all fatherless children. Numerous suggestions have been made as to ways in which schools can meet the needs of these children: the provision of more male teachers and other adequate male models, instruction of parents and children in family roles, the encouragement of responsibility, leadership and self-direction among boys both at home and at school. Such compensatory measures may have a limited effectiveness, but it would seem that the strength of matriarchal patterns cannot be broken without the opening of better job opportunities and improved training of boys for jobs which are available.

Certain child-rearing practices which tend to follow class lines are now related to the values and objectives of parents. A recent article by Leslie and Johnson (1963) which reviews the studies of child-rearing over a period of thirty years concludes that maternal objectives have not changed (Kohn, 1959). The lower-class mother is interested in giving physical care to her children, teaching obedience to adults, and she punishes disobedience by physical methods. The middle-class mother, interested in developing character and morality, guides her children with understanding and concern for their emotional well-being and is less severe and more reasonable in her discipline. She uses appeals to guilt and conscience rather than physical punishment.

Early studies which indicated that low-income families do not expect responsibility for care of themselves and for household chores at an early age are borne out by a recent study made from the point of view of the children's own perceptions. Middle-class children generally indicated that such responsibilities could be expected more than a year earlier than did lower-class children, as reported by Michael Zunich (1963). Middle-class parents, however, keep longer control of children, while lower-class children are permitted at a very young age to roam the streets without parental supervision, bringing them into earlier and freer relationships with peer groups. Relationships between children in large families are apt to be more cooperative, and there is less rivalry where close attachment to parents is absent (Ausubel, 1963; Riessman, 1962).

Although maternal domination is found to characterize at least half of the households in depressed areas, the father's role in the more stable low-income families is typically authoritarian. Despite a general trend toward permissiveness, traditional patterns change slowly where social mobility is absent. Some work has been done on the effects of family size and sex composition by Elder and Bowerman (1963), who report in a study of family structure and child-rearing patterns that in large low-income families girls receive particularly severe treatment from their fathers. These authors trace this pattern to greater parental concern for the morality of girls and point out that girls who are overcontrolled at home lack leadership and responsibility at school. It is these girls who leave home and school for jobs and early marriage. Donald McKinley's recent study of middle- and lower-class families (1964) is an example of an inter-disciplinary approach to the sources and effects of the authoritarian father pattern.

The significance for education of the use of corporal punishment among lower-class families has been brought out by several studies. Miller and Swanson (1960) see it as a source of a "physical style" of learning as well as of aggressive patterns of behavior. The absence of reasoned explanation by parents is seen as a cause of qualitative differences in cognitive expression by Bernstein (1958) in a study of perception as related to social class and by Bronfenbrenner (1961) in a speculative analysis of changing American children as responsible for a lack of guilt and anxiety. Irresponsibility is attributed to the absence of internalized controls more apt to result from middle-class appeals to guilt; hence the better response of lower-class children to externally imposed rules, regulations, and to immediate rewards rather than long-range goals.

The restricted time perspective of members of the lower class is found to be related to an inadequate sense of abstractness by Le Shan (1952) in a study of time orientation as related to social class.

Cultural Patterns: Peer Relationships

That the peer group replaces the family at an early age among lower-class boys in particular has been consistently recognized. As the child grows older and family relationships weaken, the peer group becomes both an escape and a source of values and status. Moreover, it develops a culture of its own which has been the subject of much investigation. Ernest A. Smith's American Youth Culture (1962) contains a review of the literature, while Joseph Himes (1961) discusses Negro adolescent culture in a collection of essays describing variations among ethnic groups.

An increase of interest in the dynamics of the subculture of the adolescent has resulted from the work of James Coleman, whose elaborate study of social climates in high schools and the functioning of adolescent cultures was published in 1961 as The Adolescent Society. As a result of his data, Coleman has made useful suggestions as to effective ways to alter the non-intellectual orientation of students. The social stratification within high schools has been the concern of C. W. Gordon (The Social System of the High School, 1957), A. B. Hollingshead (Elmtown's Youth, 1949) and Edgar Z. Friedenberg, who is now engaged in a study of the social climate in a number of high schools. The point of view of the latter is illustrated in his article in Commentary for November, 1963, where two typical American high schools and their effects upon middle- and lower-class youth are described. These are cross-class studies for the most part and, beyond explaining some of the reasons for low achievement and "dropouts," do not touch the gang society of lower-class boys already out of school or engaged in delinquent "gang" activity. For these groups, studies in juvenile delinquency should be consulted. The analyses of Kvaraceus, already mentioned, in Juvenile Delinquency and the Mobilization for Youth materials (found under School Programs) offer good summaries.

Cross-class and cross-cultural studies have been mentioned as correctives to a too-rigid characterization of social class. One which attempts to study factors other than status of parents which are associated with upward or downward mobility is that by Douvan and Adelson on the psychodynamics of social mobility (1963). This research ties aspiration toward economic mobility among these boys of all social classes to factors such as energy level, achievement mode, future orientation, internal standards, autonomy and self-orientation.

Language

Some of the most interesting recent work has been concerned with the language development of deprived children. The close relationship of language to intelligence and thought has led to a study of their language as related to conceptual development. The nature of their speech has been a part of the study of the Institute for Developmental Studies in New York City, now engaged in experimental programs described in "The Relationship of Language Development to Social Class and Intelligence," by Martin Deutsch (1962), Director of the Institute.

The social factors in the development of language patterns is the subject of a paper by Vera P. John (1962) of the Institute. The nature of the lower-class home--crowded, and with transient inhabitants--and the absence of "feedback" in dialogue with adults, means that word and referent are imperfectly associated by the child. It is suggested that the picture-name association repeated in simple form as in television advertising may be effective, but Dr. John finds that the child has difficulty in generalizing from one context to another. Cynthia Deutsch (1962) relates language deficiency to poor auditory discrimination due to a noisy environment and the unavailability of adults who direct connected speech to the child, in an interesting analysis of the social factors involved in auditory discrimination and learning. She mentions verbal weaknesses in three areas: action words, words related to rural living, and other words whose referents might be rare in lower-class homes. A long list of verbal deficits is included in the report of the Washington, D. C., "Language Arts Project," together with a description of special remedial work.

Since language is learned in social interaction, the many dialects of the city may result in a child's learning confused and variant speech forms which remain uncorrected except at school. Basil Bernstein, a British sociologist and student of lower-class language patterns, analyses the difference between upper- and lower-class language and implications for learning in a series of articles in British and American journals (1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962). Bernstein's viewpoint is summarized in two unpublished discussions by Robert J. Havighurst (1963, 1964).

The teacher needs to be aware that a "learned inattention" which may result from a continually noisy environment means that many of these children are not hearing what is being said. Nor are they accustomed to asking questions when they do not understand. Techniques can be found for eliciting attention when necessary. Eunice Newton, in "The Culturally Deprived Child in Our Verbal Schools," in the Journal of Negro Education (1962) poses the problem and makes some suggestions for its treatment. Many of the public school experimental programs are concerned with language study and contain helpful suggestions as to teaching techniques.

Teachers who are not primarily concerned with speech correction may well recognize and make use of the positive aspects of lower-class speech. These children are not necessarily non-verbal (except when barriers are set up by the teacher or her materials or when a child feels insecure with English as a second language), but their language is highly concrete. It follows that thought forms are concrete, rather than abstract. If they are weak in verbs, they may still be strong in verbalization, as noted in the Wilmington Language Development program, when not bound by a rigid question-answer technique and when permitted spontaneity of expression. When motivated by immediate rewards, as in the "clown and rocket" techniques used by the Institute for Developmental Studies, they are often uninhibited and able to communicate in a forceful style. The teacher who uses pictures, trips, puppets, drama, open-ended stories or tape recorders to encourage the children to speak freely is rewarded by a discovery of their deeper feelings and concerns. Such techniques were used in Wilmington both to encourage verbal response and to diagnose the level of conceptual development of the children.

Some teachers have found that the use of the children's own language results in more meaningful communication and better motivation of the pupils. It is well to recall also that these children express themselves effectively through bodily movement. An approach to verbal discussion can be made by way of role-playing and drama, dance and music. Through poetry and choral reading meaning can often be communicated successfully. In the case of teen-agers, their own special language may at times be incorporated into teaching materials as a source both of motivation and meaning, as in the Turner-Livingston Reading Workbook Series. One implication of these suggestions is that teachers (adults and teen-agers) from the children's own social class and community may communicate most easily with them.

Summary

The "equipment" which the child brings with him from his home to the school consists of traits and behavior patterns acquired in the family, and attitudes which reflect the values of his parents and their community. Teachers who understand this background will avoid methods which might suit the children of a middle-class milieu but to which urban slum children do not know how to respond. The education of the lower-class child is not a matter of restoring missing middle-class values, but of releasing a potential for learning which may remain hidden in an alien (to him), conventional teaching situation. His equipment for learning includes some deficiencies due to limited social and intellectual surroundings, it is true, but it includes also some special abilities, certain characteristic styles, and untapped sources of motivation.

Martin Deutsch (1963) in his paper on early social environment and adaptation to the school excellently summarizes the effects of the discontinuities between home and school. Frank Riessman, in The Culturally Deprived Child (1962), has taken the lead in stressing the positive traits of the children of lower-class families and pointing out ways in which the teacher may make use of them. Conflicts and barriers between home and school can be reduced and effective learning take place if teaching is geared to the background and particular behavior patterns and abilities of the child. Riessman points out a series of orientations characteristic of lower-class children in "The Strategy of Style" (1963), urging that the teacher adapt her methods to individual "styles" of learning. He characterizes the deprived child's style in terms of his physical orientation, visual and concrete ways of observing, his lack of time perspective and lack of interest in introspection and self-analysis. Games, role-playing, visual aids may be better suited to him than too much verbal discussion of abstractions, although the latter may be approached through these techniques. Ausubel (1964) discusses the value of programmed learning methods which offer encouraging possibilities of success with deprived children. Teachers are learning that concepts must be built up gradually by means of concrete examples. Most important is an understanding of his positive attributes and an appreciation of him as an individual.

It should be understood by the teacher, too, that the child or youth has developed ways of coping with life which are deeply ingrained and strongly supported by family, peers and community. They are not easily altered if status in these groups is threatened by change. Thus not only do some of the demands of the school seem meaningless and irrelevant, but they may be viewed with hostility and resentment.

An important part of the training of teachers for slum schools today consists of workshops, lectures and readings on the social background and family patterns of these children as well as personal observation and experience in depressed neighborhoods and schools. Louis E. Raths (1952) posits some of the problems in a series of articles on social class and teacher training, and the reports of some of the teacher training programs now in effect describe some possible solutions. Raths himself reports in "Sociological Knowledge and Needed Curriculum Research" (1960) that he has tested a way of teaching children who demonstrate symptoms of normlessness--the indifferent, apathetic, listless overconformers who are continual underachievers (estimated to make up thirty percent of most schools and probably more among the deprived group). His method, which is designed to develop thinking processes and help the child to clarify his values, attitudes and purposes, contains helpful suggestions for teachers who would aid clear and critical thinking.

With an understanding of the social backgrounds which differ from the middle-class comes new respect for the child and a conscious effort to reach him in ways he is able to understand and to which he can respond. More meaningful education can be the result of methods and materials which bear a closer relationship to his own life, even while schools try to broaden and enrich his limited range of experience and develop more critical awareness of himself and his surroundings.

Chapter III

PERSONALITY

The question of identity seems to occupy the foreground today in the study of personality development. At the same time, the emphasis in diagnosing both the personality and educational problems of children handicapped by social status differences has been on the effects of physical and social environment. The evidence that changes in the environment can produce changes in the child can be interpreted in two ways. A projective theory holds that environment influences behavior by modifying or releasing primary energies and drives. On the other hand, organized behavior may be seen as reflecting the interaction between the organism and its environment. Various modifications of both theories have been applied in educational circles. In an article in the Journal of Genetic Psychology, "Learning Theory and Identification" (1954), Georgene Seward rejects a Freudian theory of simple identifications and emphasizes the multiple, conflicting identifications of the Negro and lower-class child, as reflections of the marginality and discontinuity in their lives.

Self-Concept Theory

The predominance of the interaction theory of personality development today is evident in the many studies of the "self-concept" in relation to education. Underlying the theory of self-concept is the social determination of the self. As described by Ruth C. Wylie in The Self-Concept (1961), central to the personality is the individual's concept of himself, in large part formed by what he perceives to be the expectations and opinions of others who are significant in his life. Studies have been made of the relationship of self-concept to parent and teacher attitudes and to sex, race, and socio-economic level, and of factors which influence change in children's self-concepts (Ausubel, 1954; Davidson and Lang, 1960; Wylie, 1963). The relationship of self-concept to educational achievement has been shown by H. A. Passow and Miriam Goldberg in a report on the Talented Youth Project (1962), while W. B. Brookover (1962) has reported a study in which the two were related, regardless of I.Q.

While the earliest and perhaps most persistent concepts of the self are formed in relationships within the family, educators have understood that self-concepts develop and are modified. A booklet published for teachers, Children's Views of Themselves (1959) discusses the sources of self-concepts and the part they play in the school behavior of young children, with suggestions for their modification by teaching and curriculum planning. The relatively low self-esteem in which many children hold themselves has led schools to attempt to raise it through changing the expectations of teachers and parents. Teaching materials (films and textbooks) might, with minor changes, do much to build up the self-image of children of minority groups. The use of photographs of the children, and even a mirror in the classroom, tends to improve their self-esteem. Programmed learning methods--teaching machines--and nongraded schools individualize learning and limit comparisons to those between a child's own present and previous standing.

The social influence of peers at adolescence, the peer group or "gang" as a locus of identification and source of status, and the difficulties of the transition to adult status--all of these have long been regarded as significant in the development of identity. That adolescents assess themselves in relation to others and that this self-assessment is in turn correlated with educational aspiration has been brought out in a study by Robert Herriott (1963). In his report, Herriott concludes that the context of social interaction is important, and recommends changing the reference group in the case of children with restricted social opportunity. He is joined in this suggestion by Christopher Jenks, writing for The New Republic (1963). Some ways of doing this would be through heterogeneous, integrated schools and classes, summer science institutes, or other social contacts with young people of different backgrounds and interests.

Personality theory is combined with vocational psychology in the developmental theory of Donald Super and others (1963), as described in Career Development: Self-Concept Theory, and in Career Development: Choice and Adjustment, by David Tiedeman and Robert P. O'Hara (1963). A review of the theory of the self-concept is included in the first booklet, which describes its development, its ultimate translation into occupational terms and implementation by the job entered or specialized training undertaken. It is doubtful whether the theory is useful in the guidance of the teen-age "dropout," although it is clearly relevant to his earlier social experience and puts career choice into a new theoretical framework. Super (1964) gives data on the later progress of dropouts, often involving a downward mobility, and stresses the need for early developmental measures in school guidance. In the case of the deprived and disaffected youth of today, sociological approaches must be combined with the psychological. Indeed, Paul Goodman in a free-wheeling style describes, in Growing Up Absurd (1960), the plight of maturing youth, victims of an empty and unstable social and economic system. Edgar Friedenberg, in The Vanishing Adolescent (1959), criticizes adult standards of conformity and adjustment and analyzes the failure of "manipulative" school guidance procedures to contribute to the process of maturing. (See later section on Guidance, Chapter 5.)

The right kind of guidance, however, is essential for many children from disadvantaged backgrounds who may be, for example, confused about sex roles because of the absence of a father in the household. A disproportionate number of children among lower-status families are emotionally disturbed, a condition probably related to an unstable home situation and often aggravated by failure in school. One of their greatest needs is for adequate counseling which includes contact with the home. Even when they are not emotionally maladjusted, their characteristic orientation to the present and their low self-esteem present a prospect of unfulfilled potential. They have abilities which are often unnoticed in school and need help in discovering and developing them, in understanding themselves, and direction in recognizing and approaching realistic goals.

The schools today do not minimize the function of the teacher as model or parent-substitute. The guidance counselor is sometimes expected to serve this function and when possible should belong to the children's own racial and social milieu. The fact that children learn from one another and the power of the peer group in adolescence can be put to more effective educational use in guidance as well as classroom activity.

The Self-Concept of the Negro

While the theory of self-concept understands that maturation and socialization result in a complex system made up of many different concepts of the self, the term self-concept or "self-image" is often applied to the Negro in a way which seems to describe a unitary view of the self based on color and caste. The Negro child has a special problem of identity, complicated by the attitudes of white society which affect his image of himself long before he has experienced them directly. B. Dai (1949), writing on the personality development of Negro children, has described a process by which a persistent negative concept of himself can begin to be learned by the child even in infancy, as adults unconsciously transmit their own responses to white prejudice and their own acceptance of the white color norm. Several studies of pre-school children's responses to being colored by Kenneth Clark (1958, 1959) and those of Morland (1963) and Landreth and Johnson (1953) are convincing proof that at a very young age many Negro children have accepted the desirability of being white.

The matriarchal family contributes further to the negative self-assessment of the Negro boy, who has no adequate male model and lives in an atmosphere which often leads him to believe that Negro men are unworthy of admiration. And frustrations which the school child may experience, perhaps because of the discontinuities between home and school and frequent failure there, only serve to implement his negative view of himself. A study by Dr. Hugh Butts (1963) found that even at pre-adolescence boys with low self-esteem are sometimes confused in the perception of their own color. In his report may be found a review of the research on skin color perception and a psychological explanation of the hostility to one's own group which results from the low self-evaluation of the Negro in relation to whites. The Ausubels' article in Passow's volume (1963) is a thorough study of the ego development of the Negro child and a fine source of references to research studies; Kardiner's _Mark of Oppression_ (1951) is a standard psychiatric treatment of the problem.

Much is being said today about the education which often denies the Negro a part in the making of American history as well as a racial heritage of which he can be proud. School textbooks as well as the mass media reflect the tendency of society to continue to separate the Negro from the mainstream of the culture even when conscious segregation is not practiced.

The whole question of the Negro and his negative feelings about himself is being fully aired today. Three unpublished essays from the Lincoln-Filene Center at Tufts University, while not in themselves research studies, represent some of the best recent thinking on this subject: "The Self-Concept: Basis for Re-education of Negro Youth," by Jean D. Grambs, "Negro Youth and Social Adaptation: The Role of the School as an Agent of Change," by William C. Kvaraceus, and "Political Socialization of Negroes: Image Development of Self and Polity," by Bradbury Seasholes. (Unpublished and undated, these essays are a part of the Auburn Library collection.) In these and other studies may be found suggestions for ameliorating the negative feelings of the Negro about himself.

Kenneth Clark (1963), in the Passow volume, would increase the intellectual demands of the school upon Negro children in heterogeneous classes. In a sharp critique of some of the conclusions in James Conant's Slums and Suburbs, he maintains that a non-segregated, challenging and stimulating school situation will build up the child's self-esteem and that such programs, well taught, can insure success and not failure among children of normal intelligence.

The pertinent suggestions of Dan W. Dodson (1963), who relates the group-hatred of the Negro to his lack of power in the community, will be of interest to the educator. Along the same lines, but from a psychiatric viewpoint, Jacob Fishman and Frederic Solomon (1963), in reporting a study based on interviews, write of the psychodynamics of participation in student protest movements. The student "sit-ins" are seen as a form of "prosocial acting out," providing a dignified way of expressing long-repressed feelings. This meaningful real-life experience has hastened maturity, increased pride in race, and has done more than most institutional educational efforts to raise the self-esteem of the young Negro.

Motivation and Aspiration

Under the impetus of the need to discover and stimulate children with talent, especially in the fields of science and technology, and the need for a solution to the problems of unemployed youth, there has been a mushrooming of research projects and innovations in guidance and curriculum in many schools. There is such a large literature on the related subjects of motivation and aspiration that all that can be done here is to suggest sources where research is summarized, to mention a few individual studies, and to indicate the general trends in research. The reader is referred to the bibliography for other articles and books.

Gerald D. Bell (1963) has listed and reviewed briefly some of the significant work on ten factors reported to contribute to educational aspiration. Today, research studies tend to examine the influence upon aspiration and school achievement not merely of status factors, such as family income or education of parents, but of other variables, such as frames of reference and reference groups--the expectations of teachers, parents and peers, the orientation of family, peers and community toward education, achievement, and occupational mobility; self-perception and other psychological factors; and the social class composition of schools themselves.

Probably the one most certain general conclusion to be reached from studies of aspirations of low-income families is that low socio-economic status does not mean low aspirations for their children's future (Cloward and Jones, 1963; Wiener and Murray, 1963). The aspirations of parents are often high, but education beyond high school has seemed unrealistic in view of job opportunities (or lack of them). Moreover, parents are in many cases ignorant of educational opportunities available. Their pragmatic orientation indicates that the usefulness of education is a major motivating factor to low income children. While occupational aspiration is an effective influence in keeping many of them in school beyond the legal compulsory school attendance age and parent education has become an important part of all experimental school programs, still such extrinsic motivation is often insufficient. Besides, Negroes with high school diplomas still are unable to compete with the white dropouts for jobs. Paul Goodman (1963 a and b) understands motivation in relation to frustrations for which the larger society must be blamed. For further discussions of the motivation of the dropout, the reader is referred to Robert Dentler (1964), Daniel Schreiber (1963, 1964), Louis J. McGuinness (1963) and the Mobilization for Youth and Haryou Reports. (All these are to be found in the bibliography under Guidance. In addition, note the selected bibliography on dropouts prepared by S. M. Miller (1963).)

Of particular interest in the problem of motivating underachievers is *No Room at the Bottom: Automation and the Reluctant Learner* (1963), a collection of papers from a National Education Association conference which contains new ideas from recent researches and a summary chapter which lists ways to increase children's motivation to learn. A number of the findings of earlier studies have been put into practice experimentally and may be seen in new trends in teaching materials and techniques, curriculum changes, and special guidance programs. Many of these are geared to holding potential dropouts; others are designed to stimulate young children's interest in school work. (See sections in bibliography on School Reports and Guidance.)

Conscious of the need to relate teaching more directly to the child's own experience, imaginative teachers have created texts and materials out of children's own stories and language. The Detroit primers and Turner-Livingston workbooks for junior high school reading programs have been another step toward greater relevance. It has been noted that children respond with much greater interest to more realistic materials. The principle of the "use-value" of education has been found effective with older boys when study is related to actual work-experience in a number of experimental programs for potential dropouts. The principle was taken seriously in the Wilmington, Delaware, experimental program for very young children, and curriculum units were built upon the children's own perceived needs. While it is doubtful that this procedure can be carried very far, it does enlist interest and motivate the children to learn. In all of these cases, the immediate interests and concerns of the pupil are broadened by enrichment programs which create new interests. There have been attempts to build curriculum in reading as well as social studies around real-life experiences. One description and criticism of such methods in the teaching of social studies may be found in Chapter 5 of Martin Mayer's book, *Where, When and Why*.

A contrasting point of view may be found in a significant recent article, outlining a teaching strategy for the culturally deprived. David Ausubel (1963) is optimistic about promoting motivation to learn as an end in itself. He rejects pragmatic appeals to external incentives, such as use-value, believing that careful teaching strategy, the use of structured materials which are organized for efficient sequential learning, and an emphasis on the value of knowing and understanding as goals in their own right will achieve more powerful and permanent motivation among deprived children.

The strength of peer group relationships suggests that the peer group itself can be utilized as an agent of motivation. James Coleman (1963) suggests ways of making educational use of the "adolescent society" in the school. If intellectual activity is to compete with sports and other extra-curricular activities as a status factor, he advocates less passivity and more competition between schools--a kind of games approach. Certainly the boy or girl whose life outside of school presents opportunities for excitement far beyond that offered by passive study is a candidate for any method which would involve him emotionally as well as intellectually.

The mounting research evidence of the effectiveness of group guidance suggests that one way to combat the negative influences of the peer group might be to seek ways of altering the educational orientation of the group itself.

There are different ways of learning, and finding ways that motivate involves an acquaintance with the particular styles and orientations of the children to be taught. While the average young child of middle-class background responds to the usual verbal methods, others may be better able to approach the same goals through music, art, physical education or drama. Moreover, verbal methods prove effective if they make use of the child's own often agile and original verbal abilities.

Along with the use of such methods, however, must come a deliberate development of basic skills. When this can be effectively begun in the early school years, motivation becomes intrinsic, and successful learning leads to further success. No amount of external motivation can overcome inadequate preparation for academic learning.

Chapter IV

LEARNING

Out of the mass of research work on the learning problems of disadvantaged children, one series of studies being conducted by the Institute for Developmental Studies in New York City has been selected for brief discussion here. This work, which bears a direct relation to the intellectual processes of the children, promises to shed much light on the possibilities of prevention of school retardation. It is likely that if this could be accomplished by means of language and perceptual training at an early age, many subsequent school problems might be avoided. A large proportion of children in the urban lower-status groups are retarded in reading by at least two years when they reach the sixth grade. School dropouts, it is known, who have in many cases known failure throughout their school careers,do not respond well to remedial efforts. The aim of the Institute is to discover in what precise areas these children need special attention before they reach school. Its research is centered on the specific components of the cognitive process which are affected by social experience and the complex relationship between social experience and children's development.

The theoretical background of the work of the Institute begins with the work of J. Piaget in development of language and thought, amplified by that of the Russian psychologist, L. S. Vygotsky, and by J. McV. Hunt and Jerome Bruner. Vygotsky's contribution was his experimental work on the relation of language to thought. He went beyond Piaget in believing that instruction in concept formation can precede its actual development. The final chapter of Hunt's book, Experience and Intelligence (1961), reviews the work of Piaget and stresses the importance of stimulation to intellectual development. Experience, he believes, plays a vital role in the development of intelligence. If ways can be found to govern and enrich the encounter young children have with their environment, a more rapid rate of intellectual development could be fostered. Conversely, when children are deprived of certain kinds of environmental encounter, the maturation of cognitive abilities is slowed down. There are implications here for child rearing and for educational procedure.

It is believe that skills essential to learning to read are first learned by the child three or four years old. In homes where parents have little time for talking with children and where there are few opportunities for new experiences, there is an absence of stimulation of the richness and variety found in many middle-class families. One result is that the children do not form an ability to accommodate to new experiences. The ordinary day-to-day activities of the classroom assume simple verbal and auditory skills which the children have never learned and require certain adaptations which they are not able to make.

The best source for the interpretation of this theory of learning and its application to the problems of the disadvantaged child is Martin Deutsch, the Institute's director, whose many speeches and reports make fascinating reading. Some are technical, but others are directed to non-specialists. Particularly recommended are the Annual Report of the Institute for 1962, an application for a Project Grant from the Mental Health Institute entitled "Relationship of Language Development to Social Class and Intelligence," and "Facilitating Development in the Pre-School Child: Social and Psychological Perspectives," the latter to be published in the Spring, 1964, issue of the Merrill-Palmer Quarterly. The Bruner article which is most pertinent, though highly technical, is "The Cognitive Consequences of Early Sensory Deprivation," in the volume Sensory Deprivation (1961).

On the presupposition that the earliest period of socialization of the child is the optimum time for enrichment, a number of public schools have already begun pre-school programs for children. In some of them the emphasis has been on language and conceptual development. The effects of the work of the Institute for Developmental Studies are already being felt in many public school systems. Rural depressed areas as well as urban will be touched by the results of this investigation. The Montessori system is being revived,and new educational procedures are being worked out.

The research of the Institute as described in the 1962 Annual Report is in several areas,such as visual and auditory efficiency; the relation of language development to social class and intelligence; the interrelationship of verbal and conceptual behavior and their relation to reading skills;the age at which cognitive functions are affected by deprivation; and the study of communication of information in the classroom. In addition, there are projects concerned with finding out the effects of drugs upon retarded readers and upon schizophrenic and brain-damaged children as they acquire reading skills.

As the Institute's research progresses, there will be a wealth of new information about the needs and the capacities of socially disadvantaged children specifically related to the learning process. Interesting data have already been collected as the Institute attempts to develop indices of social deprivation by the study of race, socio-economic status and the social conditions of groups of these children in the New York public schools. For example, although racial differences are significant--Negro children score lower on I.Q. tests--the absence of a father in the home was found to be a more crucial factor than race. Some interesting early reports have been published: "The Intellectual Development of Slum Children" by Vera P. John (1963) and "The Social World of the Urban Slum Child" by Suzanne Keller (1963).

At the same time as the numerous detailed researches, the Institute is operating in several New York City public schools pilot demonstration programs for underprivileged urban children which include special verbal enrichment programs for pre-school and kindergarten children. Inadequacies in language and cognitive patterns are in themselves responsible for many subsequent academic and personality problems. Thus it is hoped that if these inadequacies can be prevented by planned programs of compensation at an early age, the next generation of school children will respond readily to the new curricula and new teaching techniques already developed. Further, it may be that they will find learning a joy and not merely an entry to a job.

Language and conceptual development are a primary concern of educators today wherever experimental programs are undertaken to improve the education of disadvantaged urban children at all age levels. They are being offered enrichment programs and remedial help in the basic learning skills. As the schools pursue these programs, they are discovering more effective ways to teach and to increase interest and motivation to learn. For example, the child's own language can be accepted and built upon. This can be more effective than too early and too frequent demands for "correctness." Thus educators are making use of whatever the many social science research studies can tell them about the children's special abilities, deficiencies and needs.

Chapter V

PUBLIC SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Public school experimental programs are, with a few exceptions, located in selected schools in slum areas of large cities. They are special projects, supported by private foundations or federal, state, or city funds, and are often limited to specified demonstration periods. Most are not yet completed or evaluated. Some are merely proposals on paper, awaiting sponsors, and it is a safe prediction that many more will be proposed in the future. There is little uniformity, even in the ones sponsored by a single agency such as the Ford Foundation--the Great Cities School Improvement Programs and Gray Areas programs--for each is tailored to the needs and resources of its community. Some school programs are in themselves research projects, carefully set up according to principles of scientific experimentation, but many employ a "trial and error" method. These programs generate enthusiasm among teachers and pupils, and it will be difficult to say exactly what, in addition to this enthusiasm, is responsible for any academic improvement which results.

A few books and other sources are included in the bibliography for this section on school programs, but most items listed are references to reports which have been placed in the Auburn Library collection for ready reference.

Three reports may be recommended as worth careful examination. In different ways they are introductions to much of the other work. The first is New York's Higher Horizons Report for 1962. Inaugurated at the junior high school level and now encompassing many levels in a large number of schools, Higher Horizons has furnished a pattern for many other city programs. Its report states the problems and the rationale of the program in more detail than those of newer programs. The second is that of Wilmington, Delaware, which comprises five sections, separately bound. While the emphasis of Higher Horizons is on guidance, the chief concern of Wilmington has been curriculum development. Its reports are comprehensive accounts of the formulation of curriculum units, as well as of community organization. Each step of the way toward a unified Human Relations Curriculum is described, from the diagnosis of the needs of children to the planning of each unit by the teachers themselves with the help of consultants. Learning was set into the context of the children's day-to-day experience, which was enlarged through special enrichment programs. The third report is that of the Norwalk, Connecticut, School Improvement Program--an account of a large-scale attempt to accelerate educational improvement, using modern, tested techniques.

Since these and other reports will be available in increasing numbers for consultation by the reader, only a few details have been selected for mention in this chapter as guides to the sources themselves. It should be understood that most of the "project" schools have instituted changes in almost all of the categories listed below. The Queens College BRIDGE and Hunter College TRUE projects are concerned with teacher training, as is one part of the program of the Bank Street College of Education, although the latter engages also in work in many other areas in the public schools. The Pittsburgh program is chiefly centered in the development of team teaching. In all cases, whatever the focus, the concern has been with the educational needs of children of limited backgrounds, chiefly newcomers to the city, and with finding ways of developing their talents. Yet much of this work will issue in improved educational methods for all children, for a variety of techniques are being developed, including the experimental use of automated teaching equipment.

Teachers

Teacher Training. A primary emphasis in the Hunter, Queens, and Bank Street College teacher training programs is on understanding the children of "difficult" schools, their culture, their community, and their homes--through visits, teaching, and study of cultural differences. The students "learn by doing" since techniques of teaching must be worked out and since direct observation reveals their own problems as well as those of the children.

In-Service Training. Detroit learned the importance of involving teachers in the planning of new programs. San Francisco reports in detail a series of meetings with experts on "Cultural and Social Factors in the Education of the Negro Child." A major part of many programs is the "resource" or "project" teacher who acts as consultant, instructs, demonstrates, plans regular workshops with the teachers. Wilmington includes in its report samples of special Resource Bulletins issued from time to time. New York and other cities provide lecturers, special courses in cultural differences, teaching techniques for deprived children, children's needs, home environments. Washington, D. C., issued an illustrated handbook designed to acquaint teachers with the emotional and educational problems stemming from difficult social and economic backgrounds.

Teaching Techniques. Wilmington describes how drama, role play, poetry, stories, creative expression in speech and writing can be used effectively. New York's Higher Horizons and the Banneker Schools in St. Louis describe incentives used to increase motivation. Miriam Goldberg (1964) creates a hypothetical model of a successful teacher of disadvantaged pupils, based on their style of learning, home background, and known limitations and needs. The articles of Louis Raths (1960) (a photograph is in the collection, as it is out of print) and Jules Henry (1962) are valuable critical studies of teaching method for children who need to learn to think. Many new teaching techniques are being developed and tested in new programs. Bank Street College teachers have found emotionally disturbed boys responsive to poetry.

Team Teaching. For descriptions, the reader is referred particularly to the Pittsburgh and Norwalk reports.

Teaching Materials. A scarcity of appropriate materials has been noted, and it is to be hoped that those created by teachers themselves may be made available as models. The New York workbooks in the Turner-Livingston series and the "Jimmy" readers from the Detroit project are more closely related to the lives of urban children than are most textbooks. A Macmillan-Bank Street College series of readers for urban children is eagerly awaited. There will doubtless be more interculturally-oriented books forthcoming. Several school systems have provided materials on Negro history for the teachers' use; in September, 1964, the New York Board of Education will issue to teachers a new resource book on the history of the Negro, to be available to others for purchase. Improved, realistic films and filmstrips are gradually making their appearance.

Curriculum

The Wilmington reports and an article by Project Director Muriel Crosby (1962) provide a discussion of a curriculum which emphasizes concept formation. In Education in Urban Society (1963) may be found a chapter on the local planning of curriculum. Few schools are yet ready to report on curriculum revision, except for special orientation classes, such as those for in-migrants in Milwaukee.

Language arts is a special subject taught in many project schools and described in some detail in the Washington, D. C., report. A delightful account of such a program in Wilmington is a mimeographed report, "Emphasis on Language" (1963). Remedial reading, special tutoring, study centers, and other supplementary programs are a part of most programs.

The "new" math and science curricula are developments which are not especially geared to deprived children but which should be seriously studied. Jerome Bruner in The Process of Education and Philip Phenix in Curriculum Crossroads (1962) and his more recent Realms of Meaning (1964) give a rationale for the "disciplines" approach. With adaptations, Bank Street teachers found this curriculum effective with educationally retarded children.

New curricular approaches have evolved in work-study programs for older children. The sources for descriptions of these programs are listed in the bibliography under Guidance.

Enrichment Programs. The reader is referred to the Higher Horizons report in particular, although most other reports contain some mention of enrichment programs. Some after-school and summer programs are described by the Detroit report.

Pre-School Instruction. Reports from Pennsylvania and North Carolina describe state programs just begun. In Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and New York City a number are located in churches. The language arts program in Washington, D. C., has been extended to summer programs for pre-schoolers.

Grouping. Small classes provide an opportunity for individual attention and are a prerequisite for most experimental programs. Class size varies, however, in team teaching programs. Grouping according to achievement level and I.Q. scores is common, but there are good reasons for mixing levels (Clark, 1963; Goldberg and Passow, 1962). The results of studies of both as related to the progress of students are inconclusive (Eckstrom, 1961; Rasmussen, 1962).

The non-graded or ungraded primary school is described by John Goodlad (1963). Detroit and Oakland, California, report block time programs in high schools.

Guidance

In many ways guidance today in theory and practice is in a state of flux. The modern emphases and some of the problems are presented in two volumes, Epitaph for Vocational Guidance by Ruth Barry and Beverly Wolf (1962) and The Counselor in a Changing World by Gilbert C. Wrenn (1962). The contemporary approach, with overtones of existentialist philosophy, emphasizes self-knowledge and the development of individual potential in preparation for choosing a career. Research, accordingly, has taken a new direction. Longitudinal studies of "vocational maturity" at different age levels in Donald Super's "Career Pattern Study" have brought to light some findings useful to the guidance counselor. Practice, however, lags behind theory and research. Printed occupational materials, for example, until recently have been unsuited for use, since the reading level has been too difficult, and they are just beginning to be geared to the psychological approach. (The change can be noticed when the 1962 Career Guide for Demand Occupations, issued by the U. S. Department of Labor, is compared with earlier job analysis materials.) Moreover, trained counselors are too few in number to make the new approach workable in large school systems, and there is a need for role clarification.

Eli Ginsberg (1960), a critic of professional guidance counselors and their psychologically-oriented philosophy, questions some of the common assumptions of guidance theory. Further (1962), from a practical point of view, he criticizes early career choice, insisting that flexibility is more realistic in an economy in which careers are the exception and skills are learned on the job or through a shifting among jobs.

Nevertheless, the new philosophy of guidance, with its emphasis upon discovering and developing individual talents, holds great promise for disadvantaged children. To be sure, it can hardly be evaluated for them, since, as a rule, they have received inadequate counseling services. They may be victims of negative environmental situations, discrimination and inadequate employment opportunities. In addition to being poor students, they present endless difficulties for the guidance counselor. Therefore, in experimental programs guidance has been expanded in many directions.

The Higher Horizons program has shown that with extra services some of these children are able to raise their goals and learn more efficiently.

The other New York reports give information about differentiated programs for groups of children at different emotional and academic levels. In expanded guidance programs the average trained counselor cannot fulfill all the functions required. Additional specialized personnel must be brought in and community agencies are asked to cooperate with the school. A new function for the counselor is the coordination of the activities of many agencies outside the school as they offer help to the families and children. Moreover, a counselor's training does not always equip him to deal with disadvantaged and culturally different children. This year, under the National Defense Education Act, a year's additional training has been offered to a group of experienced counselors by Teachers College, Columbia University. This course is especially designed to give them first-hand experience and special training for work with such children. Robert O. Stripling (1964) discusses the results of a five-year study of counselor education standards in the essay, "Professional Preparation of Counselors: Implications in Regard to School Dropouts." It is to be hoped that the role of the counselor may be clarified as a result of all the new experimental activity in this field.

Certain other trends in guidance programs for the disadvantaged may be noted. There is a movement toward more group work, perhaps in combination with individual counseling. Another trend is seen in the many work-study programs and their extension both to the junior-high level and to post high school re-training programs. Counseling of out-of-school youth is beginning to be developed, while at the other end of the age scale pre-school orientation of parents and children to the school is being initiated. There seems to be a need for more attention to the problems of girls; family and home education for girl dropouts is needed as well as a raising of occupational goals for all girls.

A suggestion which would carry even further the trend toward taking a part of education out of the classroom is made by Edmund Gordon in Guidance and the School Dropout (1964). He would supplement the individual counseling relationship, group guidance and sheltered work situations by more effective ways of helping young people to grow and develop. His approach, based on a theory of development through environmental encounter, is more comprehensive than most. The testimony of young people themselves about their experiences in high school, as reported by Mallery in High School Students Speak Out (1962) would support the position that development and growth are not a product of school experience, teaching or curriculum, but rather, occur in the mainstream of life experience.

Both Guidance and the School Dropout and The School Dropout, published in 1964 under the editorship of Daniel Schreiber, contain valuable essays on many different aspects of guidance programs and counseling, especially related to disadvantaged children.

Parents and Community

Work with Parents. Various techniques in making contact with parents in deprived areas, in order to increase their interest in the school and their children's performance, and to raise their goals, are described in many of the reports. Fullmer (1964), in an article on working with parents in *Guidance and the School Dropout*, describes an Oregon experiment in family group consultation which proved effective. *School-Home Partnership in Depressed Urban Neighborhoods* (1964) is a report on promising programs found in twenty schools in five large urban school districts. A study made by the Bank Street College of Education in New York City schools of parent-teacher relationships is now in the press. Of particular interest is the Progress Report of the Pre-School and Primary Education Project of the State of Pennsylvania, where a methodology is being worked out to coordinate and improve the services of many public and private family agencies. Parent education through individual and group conferences with school personnel is a major objective of the project.

An article on Negro marriage and family life by G. F. Edwards (1963) provides recent statistics which are useful, but suggests that education cannot change the patterns of disorganization within Negro families. Nevertheless, R. W. Smuts (1957), in a discussion of the Negro community and Negro potential, has given pertinent suggestions of what parents and community can do to help themselves.

In *Children* (July-August, 1963) are some practical suggestions from the U.S. Children's Bureau on how to reach low-income parents. More appropriate instructional materials are gradually appearing.

Work with Community. Since most of these projects are school-community programs, there are many descriptions of ways in which community organizations may work with the schools. Once more, Wilmington's report shows exactly what steps were taken in initiating and continuing the cooperative efforts of all kinds of community groups in a total, unified approach toward the problems faced by changing city neighborhoods. Even the interest and help of suburban groups was enlisted and received. Other cities which have developed community cooperation are Cleveland, New Haven, Oakland, California, and Philadelphia.

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